And Now The Arab "Invasion" of Israel, P. 4

If True, The Most Hopeful News of the Week

"Reliable information convinces me that there is now—or will be shortly—a renewed effort by civilians [McNamara?] in high places to persuade the President to halt or suspend the air war against North Vietnam. I fervently hope he will resist this pressure."

—Senator Stennis (D., Miss.) *in a speech at Biloxi, Miss., June 23. As chairman of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, Stennis is close to the Joint Chiefs of Staff.*

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The Opportunity Johnson Lost At Glassboro

What the President should have done at Glassboro was to announce that we had stopped the bombing of North Vietnam, and hoped that Chairman Kosygin in return would arrange for peace talks with Hanoi. Over and over again Hanoi has said that it would talk peace if the bombing were ended. This was Johnson's opportunity, and he did not take it. Instead we were treated to another episode in public relations flim-flam. An exchange of grandfatherly banalities helped to divert attention from the inability of the two men even to agree on the wording of a joint communique. The kind of statement the Russians favored was read by Kosygin at his UN press conference. It did not go beyond saying that the joint talks were "useful." This is the minimal adjective in the diplomatic vocabulary. Its astringent realism did not suit Johnson who preferred a saccharine summation. In concluding that the talks had made the world "a little less dangerous", he fed the country's hopes and gave himself the aura of the peace-maker without the reality.

De Gaulle's Advice Was Good

The word from Paris was that the Russians were prepared to do all they could to reestablish stability in the Middle East if once America stopped the bombing in the Far East. This is what lay behind de Gaulle's statement of June 21 which received so frenetically hostile a reception in the American press. When the hysteria dies down, its wisdom will be acknowledged. It is certainly true, as de Gaulle said, that "one conflict contributes to the creation of another." How can we deter international lawlessness when we ourselves practice it in the skies over North Vietnam? Nor can one seriously dispute the force of his observation about "the fundamental sterility" that is "the hallmark" of our war effort "however powerful the means employed and however terrible its effects."

The pressure from Saigon for more men is the best evidence of this military sterility. Westmoreland wants 140,000 men—an increase of 30%, no less, in the 460,000 he already has. There are indications that in the highest civilian circles of the government there is growing opposition. These civilians argue, according to a perceptive report by Frederick Taylor from Saigon in the *Wall Street Journal* Nov. 27, that the military "who now are saying 600,000 men will do the job are the same who once said 400,000 would." This way lies mobilization and invasion of the North, risking war not only with China but also Russia. This is the quiet warning brought back from Moscow by Wm. Attwood in the latest issue of *Look*.

Ben Gurion Agrees With Us On Nasser

"If war makes sense only as an extension of politics by other means then Israel's victory will make political sense only if it leads to a new era of friendly relations with Nasser."

—The Weekly *(shocking some readers) June 12.*

"I have great respect for Nasser. Nasser is a patriot. We should make an effort to talk with him. If Nasser agrees to talk, we should give up the Sinai. Without Egypt, no other Arab state will talk."

—Ben Gurion, in the New York Times, *June 18, p. 16.*

In this perspective Glassboro may be seen not just as a way to "buy" Soviet cooperation in the Middle East but as a dramatic moment for disengagement in the Far East with minimum risk in domestic politics. The Arab-Israeli war certainly demonstrated the geopolitical folly of tying down so much of our military power in Vietnam. The time to act on this was while the lesson was fresh and when the disengagement itself could have been sold at home, and used abroad, as a bargaining point in a wider settlement. In Washington, Johnson's failure to seize this opportunity is taken as evidence that he is pretty much a prisoner of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The ascendancy of the military in the U.S. is what the Russians fear. To them it may spell the need for larger military expenditures, for an anti-missile system and for stronger support of Egypt and Syria lest these countries too fall under Western domination in the wake of Israel's victory.

"For ten hours," Johnson said at Baltimore of his meeting with Kosygin, "we looked at each other." We don't know what Kosygin saw but that demagogic speech, in one revealing phrase about "tucking tail and running in Vietnam," showed how puerile is Johnson's attitude. How make peace with a man who sees that complex conflict in such schoolboy terms? Kosygin may feel that those pictures with Johnson cost him suspicion in China and the Third World without any compensating progress. His sudden decision to visit Cuba looks like an effort, by provocative pantomime, to show that Moscow is not collaborating with Washington. When the score is added up, Glassboro may prove to have left the world a little more—not less—dangerous than it was before.

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An Historic Moment for Israel and World Jewry—It Will Shape the Future

Suppose Those Were Jewish Refugees From Arab Armies?

(Continued from Page Four)

by Egypt. Now, if it cannot rally support at an Arab summit neither Nasser nor the oil potentates want, Jordan may be forced to negotiate. If Israel were to return Arab Jerusalem as part of such a Confederation, and make the Holy City a condominium as a symbol of Arab-Jewish friendship, the atmosphere might be changed. But I see little chance of such far-sighted magnanimity in Israel's present mood of military elation and religio-national fervor about Jerusalem. Their minds are shut to any suggestion that Jerusalem was for centuries an Arab city, too, and holds Islam's second most holy shrine. This is the blindness of high tragedy.

Hussein Earned His Crown at Last

Jordan is a fiction. The British created Transjordan by cutting it away from Palestine in 1922 and making the Emir Abdullah a satellite desert king. When he took the West Bank in 1948, he brought together in one kingdom two very different peoples. The Palestinian Arabs were the most literate, urbanized and advanced of all the Arabs except for Lebanon. The Transjordanians were mainly Bedouins, living a tribal life under their Cadis or Judges like the Jews did in the days before their first Kingdom. Abdullah's rule was oppressive and undemocratic. His grandson Hussein earned his crown by his speech last week to the UN. It was by far the most impressive address made at the session; the Arab world had a worthy spokesman at last. But apart from the drama his is still an anachronistic kingdom, a Hollywood production of British imperialism and American aid. For Israel to join with Jordan is again to link itself with the backward against the progressive elements in the Arab world, and with Western imperialism. This spells trouble for the future.

The best that can be said for Israel is that the troubles of victory are better than those of defeat. Few expected so swift an outcome. Many feared Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv would be smashed by air raids before it was over. Now that they survive almost intact, is it not a happy outcome that the millions which would have been needed to rebuild them can be turned (if Israel and world Jewry wishes) to the noble fraternal task of building a new life for the Arab homeless now back within the borders of their old homeland? Only a big plan and a generous politics, launched in a big way, can undo the damage done by those terrible pictures of Arab refugees fleeing in terror from victorious Jews across that damaged Jericho bridge. *And Israel's use of napalm must lie heavy on every Jewish conscience:* Let us ask ourselves: Suppose we had lost the war, and these were our people fleeing? Suppose Israel loses the next war, who will care about our refugees if we care so little about theirs? This is an historic moment, in which Israel and Jewry can lay foundations for the future of war or peace, hate or reconciliation. I beg every fellow Jew to think upon it.

An Unexpected Lack of Compassion

"There is, as I have said, no xenophobia here. The Arabs are not hated or even despised. No one has the time to spare to burn Nasser in effigy. What does strike a chill, however, is an apparent insensitivity to the fate of the pawns in this terrible game. There is plenty of evidence that the aftermath of war is being cleared up in an entirely civilized way. All the humane conventions are being observed. All the humane conventions are being observed, and the nation's strained resources are being used to save the lives of Egyptian stragglers in the Sinai desert and to keep the remaining refugee camps supplied with food. Brigadier Herzog, the wealthy business man called to the colors as Military Governor of the Jordan west bank, can be observed cooperating admirably with the Jordanian authorities. But when he or any other high Israeli official talks about the homeless, they become cyphers, statistics, and not people at all. . . . Yes, says the official, those Arabs who remain can perhaps be allowed a limited amount of self-government. No, those who have fled cannot be allowed back for the present; the security risk would be too great. There is no hint of revenge for 19 centuries of persecution—only, at least at this moment, a lack of compassion among the one people where we might have expected to find it." *—Douglas Brown from Tel Aviv in the London* Sunday Telegraph, *June 18.*

A Great Christian Historian Maps a Plan for Reconciliation in the Mid-East

"If Israel were assured that the Arabs inside Israel were not going to be used as a 'fifth column,' she could afford to treat them as first-class citizens. If she were assured that any refugees could not be used as a 'fifth column' either, she could afford to readmit some at any rate. To be assured of this Israel must be convinced of the genuiness of the indispensable Arab undertaking to accept the existence of Israel and no longer to seek to destroy her . . . If the hitherto unsurmounted political obstacle could be cleared out of the way, modern technology could provide a livelihood not only for the whole present population but for the Arab refugees, too. We are on the verge of desalinating sea-water at an economic price, and this is going to transform deserts into fertile fields.

"The ideal solution would be to repatriate all the refugees. This would be the surest road to reconciliation because Palestine is a country that keeps its hold on the heart-strings of any people that has ever lived there. The Jews' longing to return has never died. The Arab Palestinian refugees have the same feelings. When I have talked to them in the Gaza strip, I could have fancied that I was talking to the Jewish refugees of the first generation who wept when they sat down by the waters of Babylon.

"However, it seems improbable that many of the present Arab refugees will wish to return now that this will mean coming under Israeli rule . . . It also seems improbable that the Israelis would be willing to readmit all the Arab refugees . . . A possible region for rehousing Palestinian Arab refugees who wish to preserve their corporate identity as a community would be the part of Syria lying to the northeast of River Euphrates. This fertile territory is, so far, only sparsely populated . . . It is important that Israel, when once the Arabs have genuinely made peace with her, should take the initiative . . . The hour of military victory is the moment for being magnanimous."

—Arnold J. Toynbee in Wash. Sunday Star *June 18.*

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Abridged From Letters Put Into the Congressional Record of June 16

Soldiers In The Field Cheer Fulbright for Opposing The War In Vietnam

Dear Senator Fulbright: I have been meaning to write this letter to you for a long while. This evening the pressures are too great to be ignored. Last evening I listened to a VOA [Voice of America] broadcast on "Vietnam War Dissent in the US." The essential theme was that those who protest the war were either Communists or cranks. And coupled with this was a sly reminder that we have our share of lunatics who wish a wider war, and that they also dissent from present policy. Not one word about responsible, reasoned objections—we couldn't admit that.

Following the VOA broadcast I turned to Radio Peking. The usual inanities about the "glorious thought of Chairman Mao" sounded somehow different—because I realized how close the two distortions were, in their joint disregard of truth while pursuing doctrine. I am horrified that my government is unable to admit any possibility of "error".

The Villagers Heard A Different Music

But this is really a small point. This evening it is fairly quiet but Monday, while at the province chief's house the large party enjoyed good food and loud music, in the next valley over the ridge the 500-pounders fell steadily. The villagers get a different sort of music—B-52 style. I wondered then if we can ever put these people back together as fast as we are blowing them apart.

In the past few months as an adviser to the VN Coastal Force, I have seen too often the real casualties of this conflict—the farmers and their families in the Delta mangled by air strikes, and the villagers here killed and burned out by our friendly Korean mercenaries. Of course, I do my share in the lunatic ward. I have even been reprimanded for overenthusiastic pursuit of VC. Part of it is just compensation—it is refreshing, after seeing so many innocent people suffer, to meet real, live hostile forces capable of striking back.

This evening they showed the JFK documentary film here in the MACV [Military Assistance Command Vietnam] compound. I could not help but feel a great sense of loss as I listened to the richly rolling phrases—whatever has become of our dream? Where is that America that opposed tyrannies at every turn, without enquiring first whether some particular form of tyranny might be of use to us?

I wish I had more answers. But the obligation to oppose evil is pretty absolute—it doesn't necessarily depend on having an exact blueprint for entering the Promised Land. As you are probably aware, I am possibly violating 17.000 directives in writing you. But it is not possible to keep silent, as you so amply demonstrate. You remind me of Kent, in *Lear,* who in the face of dire threats from his King replied, "Whilst my tongue can give vent to clamour, I'll tell thee thou dost evil." I pray that you fare better than Kent. And as a certain comedian less than half-jokingly pleads: "I want my country back." Good night, sir.

The Ky Clique's French Decorations

Dear Senator Fulbright: Don't let Gen. Westmoreland and President Johnson erode your will to dissent with the argument that all the soldiers "over there" staunchly support the war. They don't. Most of them are apathetic and I am by no means the only one who is vehemently opposed to it.

Gen. Ky's government has virtually no popular support; most of his top aides sport French decorations on their uniforms. The Vietnamese people identify us with the hated French imperialists because we support the Ky regime. By occupying and devastating Vietnam we have gained few friends.

The President must know that the VC are a largely indigenous group who have had legitimate gripes against the many "miracle-working" governments of South Vietnam and that in our bombings of North Vietnam we have committed outrages for which we once condemned the Nazis. With admiration.

A Marine 2d Lieut. Says We, Not the Viet Cong, Are The Terrorists in Vietnam

Dear Senator Fulbright: I went to Vietnam a hard-charging Marine 2d Lt., sure I had answered the plea of a victimized people. That belief lasted about two weeks. Instead of fighting Communist aggressors I found that 90% of the time our military actions were directed against the people of South Vietnam. We are engaged in a war in Vietnam to pound a people into submission to a government that has little or no popular support.

Much has been written about the terror tactics used by the Viet Cong. The real terrorists in Vietnam are the Americans and their allies. I don't deny that some of the accusations against the VC are true but from my own experience the terror and havoc that we spread makes the VC look like a Girl Scout picnic.

Can you image what an isolated village looks like after it has been hit by over 500 750-pound bombs in a matter of seconds? Women, children, old men, cattle and every living thing is struck down without ever knowing from where their destruction originated. This particular village ceased to exist because it was in a VC dominated area. Intelligence reports said it might have been used as a North Vietnamese regiment headquarters. We never found any dead soldiers but as it is the custom in VC controlled areas all the dead were listed as VC killed in action.

I also saw thousands of pounds of rice dumped in rivers and otherwise destroyed because some small unit commander decided there was too much rice in this particular village for the number of people living there and therefore the surplus must be going to the VC. Here is some 2d Lt. with a degree in Literature suddenly making himself an expert on Asian agriculture and family consumption patterns. These people had worked for months to bring in a rice harvest and their "defenders" had come along and destroyed it in a matter of minutes. They certainly aren't going to be thinking of us as saviors. This scene was repeated dozens of times during my tour.

I wanted to tell you that there are many, many of us in the military who oppose this war and appreciate your efforts to bring out the truth and get this thing stopped. We are not very vocal because it is alright for a military man to speak out in support of the war but to speak out in opposition would subject us to very serious repercussions. All three of my friends who went to Vietnam with me came away sharing my feelings.

At one time I thought I would make the military my career. But I could not live with myself if I stayed in the service of my own free will and was sent to Vietnam again to brutalize those poor people.

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Sobering Realities and Sharp Headaches of The Morning After

The Arab "Invasion" With Which Israel Must Now Cope in Victory

From all I can learn the first flush of military elation in Israel has given way to sober reflection. In a sense Israel's successful invasion of her neighbors has been accompanied by an Arab "invasion" of Israel. Its borders with Syria, with Jordan and with Egypt now give it greater military security than it has had before. But the price turns out, on examination, to be a greater insecurity within. When you live in an Arab sea, the Arabs seep in, win or lose, and a victorious Israel finds itself with a million Arabs more than she had before. Her armies occupy Gaza and the West Bank. *But so do these Arabs.* She cannot forcibly convert them into Jews as Jews and Christians in Palestine were once forcibly converted into Muslims. And except for a relative few, she cannot drive them out. What to do? In a sense the Arab refugees have been carrying on a sit-down strike for 19 years on Israel's borders. Now the sitdown strikers are inside.

No Blitz Will Disperse Them

This is a much more difficult problem than was the war. Israelis are awakening to the fact that they themselves may be glad in negotiations to get rid of much of the land they annexed.

There seem to be roughly three main attitudes in Israel toward the newly occupied territories. On the right, leaders like Menachem Beigin, want Gaza and the West Bank even if it means almost half the people of Israel will be Arabs; even the rightists admit the Arabs cannot be expelled; even if they could, there are no new Jewish immigrants available to replace them. In the nationalist centre, men like Ben Gurion and Moshe Dayan, are talking of an autonomous Arab "state" on the West Bank, perhaps also linked with Gaza but not with central Gallilee where most of Israel's present Arabs live. That, they say, is irrevocably Israel, though the original partition place would have given it (and some other areas) to the Arab state. Where the 1947 plan called for an independent Arab state linked economically with an independent Jewish state, they envision an Arab state which would be an Israeli satellite. Israel would control security and foreign relations. This has already been derisively termed a "Bantustan" arrangement by some British correspondents.

Unusual Frankness Dept.

"I am unalterably opposed to the so-called give-away programs, the so-called poverty programs, the so-called do-good-here and do-good-there programs—so I suggest that we examine the differences between those and these of which we are speaking . . . Whether we like it or not, we cannot deny that this economy is now geared, hand in hand and arm in arm, with the Defense and space programs. These are the two biggest spenders in the country . . . Within the bounds of classification . . . one cannot, under any circumstances, separate the value of the space program in any area, in any field, in any realm from our defense program."

—Hebert (D., La.) *fighting proposed cuts in the space program in the House June 22.*

Even if it were not that bad, it would still be a captive state.* The Arabs would never accept this disguised ghetto.

On the Left, in Mapam, there is talk of a Confederation with Jordan. The West Bank would be returned to Jordan and with it access to the Mediterranean by free port privileges either at Haifa or Ashdod. Mapam, once bi-nationalist, now feels that only minimal ties between the two peoples are possible. It speaks of a *Confederation* because that denotes looser ties than a federation. It is felt that Jordan is the Arab neighbor hardest pressed by the defeat; Egypt is little affected by the loss of Gaza, Sinai and the Gulf of Aqaba; Syria has lost no vital interest in the heights that command the upper Jordan; but Jordan has lost the best part of its territory and the most advanced portion of its people. Israel asked Jordan to stay neutral; Jordan fought but was let down

(Continued on Page Two)

*** A device for keeping the West Bank without having to give full citizenship to its Arab inhabitants. The basic attitude is revealed in Dayan's Diary of the Sinai Campaign where he says, in speaking of the Gaza strip, that Egypt had never annexed Gaza because it did not wish to become responsible for its Arab refugees and adds "Ben Gurion, too, feels that Israel should not agree—if she is ever offered the proposal—to attach the Gaza strip to her territory because of its numerous refugees whom Israel cannot accept." Victory has now given Ben Gurion what he didn't want.**

On Summer Schedule — Next Issue July 17th

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